2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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164 753 [521] of illness, no matter how slight, is a favourite subject of conversation. Colds, cough, stomach-ache, neuralgia, and other minor ailments make them miserable, although they can cure them effectively with domestic concoctions of herbs, roots, barks, [757] flowers, and especially by massage, which they have developed into a real science. However, despite the appearance of being an unusually healthy race, the Balinese are victims of many serious afflictions for which they know no cure.

164 Worst among these are the widespread venereal diseases; syphilis and gonorrhœa seem to prevail although in an inherited, latent state. Supposedly of ancient introduction, the diseases do not appear in malignant forms and the Balinese seem to have developed a certain immunity that makes them carriers despite a healthy appearance. It is common to see the whitish veil of gonorrhœa in the eyes of elderly people and often a boy or a girl of our *bandjar* broke out in sores of an unmistakable origin and had to be sent to the hospital for inoculations. But the reluctance of the Balinese to undertake foreign treatment, the forbidding cost of Salvarsan, and the natural promiscuity do not help the situation.

164 757 278 [165] The violent rainy seasons bring epidemics of tropical fevers, and malaria takes many lives, especially of children. The Balinese attempt to cure the fevers with concoctions of *dadap* leaves, onions, anise, salt, and coal from the hearth, which, after straining, is given to the patient to drink, and he is put to sleep. It is also effective to rub the sides with a paste of mashed *dadap* leaves, onions, anise, and *tinké*, a sort of nutmeg, and to rub the back with coconut oil with scrapings of *dadap* bark; but quinine is rapidly gaining popularity. The Balinese love a clear skin and they are disturbed by the prevalent skin diseases, from the ugly but harmless *kurab*, a skin discolouration produced by a parasitic fungus, to itches, frambœsia, and tenacious tropical ulcers. The *kurab* (called *bulenan* when in small patches) appears as whitish spots on the brown skin and spreads all over if not checked. It is cured by rubbing the affected areas with *lalang*

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the far-away land where she was reared, and all the land between

"But it is a very rare occurrence that such twins live. Usually either the boy or the girl, or both, die at an early age, and often even the parents die". —

Unfortunately this charming version of the separation is not true all over Bali. Not one of the parents of Jabă twins whom we questioned had heard that this was "to have children like the kings of old". They knew only that it was a bad sign, and a costly one to them. Since it is impossible for a Jabă to become king, and has always been so, the explanation is one which would only occur to the imagination of a proud Sĕngguhu. Later it will be shown to what extent Sĕngguhu's consider themselves exempt from the taboos imposed on all Jabă twins.

In Nyèstanan, a village near Ubud, Jabă twins born twelve years ago were separated by the adoption of the boy into a household in the same village. A year afterward the woman who had taken the boy died suddenly. This was a bad sign. The boy was returned to his parents, for no one else would take him. Now the boy and girl, who are near puberty, state most vigorously that they do not wish to marry each other, since they were brought up as brother and sister.

J. de Vroom, writing more than sixty years ago, mentions as an old custom of forgotten times that *kĕmbar bunching* had to marry each other [1]). I did not find one person, Padandă, prince, or ordinary man, who stated that such marriage was compulsory.

Mr. de Vroom reports also that people say *kĕmbar salah* mostly die. It is curious that in seven cases I investigated one or both twins died before the period of banishment was over. In Taro boy and girl twins have been born three times in the past two years, to unrelated families. In each case the girl has died.

In connection with the frequently reported death of twins

[1]) J. DE VROOM, *Aanteekening uit eene Balische Adversaria. Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Batavia, Vol. XVIII.

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one is reminded of the custom of putting to death one or both twin children, found in the great area extending from British India to New Guinea and Australia. Frazer, in *Totemism and Exogamy*, quotes from the Rev. B. Danks' article on the New Britain Group (Northern Melanesia) that in the Duke of York Island "if twins are born, and they are boy and girl, they are put to death because being of the same class (of two exogamous classes) and being of opposite sex, they were supposed to have had in the womb a closeness of connection which amounted to a violation of their marital class law". [1]) Again, Frazer tells of the tribes near King George's Sound, in South-West Australia, that "when twins were born, one of them was killed; if the children were of different sexes, they killed the boy and preserved the girl. The reasons which they gave for destroying a twin were 'that a woman has not sufficient milk for two children, and cannot carry them and seek her food'" [2]). Edgar Thurston states that "in Madras ... twins are sometimes objects of superstition, especially if they are of different sexes, and the male is born first. The occurrence of such an event is regarded as foreboding misfortune, which can only be warded off by marrying the twins to one another and leaving them to their fate in the jungle. Cases of this kind", he continues, "have however, it is said, not been heard of within recent times" [3]). W. H. R. Rivers has written of the Todas (Southern India) that "twins are called 'omumokh', and it is the custom to kill one of them, even when both are boys. If they should be girls, it is probable that both would be killed, or at any rate would have been killed in the past" [4]).

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[1]) REV. B. DANKS, *Marriage customs of the New Britain Group. Journal of the Anthropological Institute* XVIII (1889), quoted by FRAZER, *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. II, p. 122, London 1910.

[2]) FRAZER, *Totemism and Exogamy*, London 1910, Vol. I, p. 549, on authority of Scotthind, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* I, (1832) p. 39.

[3]) EDGAR THURSTON, *Omens and Superstitions of Southern India*, New York, 1912, p. 54.

[4]) W. H. R. RIVERS, *The Todas*, Cambridge. p. 480.

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Certainly the feeling that twins are an evil omen is widespread throughout this extensive area. But I found no evidence to show that the Balinese ever went so far as to kill the children, except in the case of triplets which were two boys and one girl. A Padandă from Sanur and a lontar from Kabă-Kabă (Tabanan) stated that these were to be thrown in the sea or abandoned on the shore; but my informants added that "other people", i.e. not the parents, might take them up and care for them. Probably the high mortality of twins in Bali is sufficiently explained by the undesirable removal of them the day after birth, the sojourn in an inadequate shelter during the first weeks, and perhaps the physical and mental effects on the mother of the whole anxious period before the purification.

Another point must be mentioned in connection with the early death and the separation of the twins. I was told by Chokordă Anom, keeper of the genealogy (*babad*) of the ruling family of Klungkung, that in the time of the Balinese kings all twins and triplets were taken into the Puri of the Rajă to become his slaves (*parĕkan*). The Rajă had the right to take these children, whether two boys, two girls, or whatever the assortment of the sexes. The Rajă's power over them continued throughout their lifetime. It happened in Taro in the last generation that a boy-twin was separated from his sister when they reached puberty, by order of the Anak Agung (prince) of Tĕgal-lalang, whose *parĕkan* the boy became. Later the boy was released from servitude. He returned to Taro and married his twin. He is now dead, and his widow is an old woman. This is the only case I found where a twin or triplet was taken by a prince, although De Vroom speaks of finding in lontars that boy and girl twins may be dedicated to the prince, who will have them educated [1]). And this case also is too far in the past to make sure that it was on account of his being a twin that the boy was taken into servitude. Princes in Bali still can find ways of casting their subjects into

[1]) Vide p. 510 nt. 1.

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temporary servitude, and this must have been more true before the influence of the Dutch government overspread the island. However, if it *was* the custom for twins to become slaves, that might explain both their reported high mortality and their custom of separation (regardless of whether or not they proposed to marry). For the old Rajă's of Bali ruled their kingdoms loosely, leaving each village its independent organization, themselves rarely venturing beyond their palace walls. From time to time they sent a Patih or emissary to collect tribute, or to bring back some offender against the crown to have his head chopped off. (Such is the picture suggested by the literature, the popular legends and dramatic plays representing older times.) In cases where two or more children had been born at once, it would have been easy enough to cheat the Rajă of his slaves by the adoption of the extra children into other houses, and the reported death of any child whose liability to servitude threatened. However the death of one or more of the children does not release the parents from the full obligation of banishment and the purification ceremonies prescribed by the village law. A crime against the community and a crime against the Rajă were two distinct things. In Kutri (Singapadu) boy and girl twins were born in September, 1933. Both died the day of their birth, before the *kubu* on the road to the graveyard had been finished for their reception. But the parents were banished just the same, and the full order of ceremonies took place after forty-two days.

This brings us to the question of whether the "wrongness" of boy and girl twins in Jabă families is a concept rooted in the ancient belief of the Balinese people antedating their conquest by Hindu-Javanese princes, or a concept spread among them by those conquerors. As has been seen from the notes on various peoples quoted above, the concept is characteristic not only of Southern British India, but widespread in great reaches of Oceania. It has been reported from the Philippines that the Nabaloi people, inhabiting Benguet, North Luzon, believe "if there are twins, one is the child of the *ampasit* (a malevolent spirit belonging to

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*845 184 192 a better sign for Triwangsă, but no worse for Jabă than the reversed order. He says that twins with one placenta are worse for the Jabă, because that is their way, and with two placentas are better for Rajă's, for that is their way. I was also told by the father of Kĕtut Wijanagară, the administrator of the Liefrink-Van der Tuuk-Library, that in the old days in Bulèlèng the case of one placenta was considered more *salah*, but if the girl was born first it was not *salah* at all.

I have encountered still more divergent meanings for the word *bunching*, as for instance when the Sĕngguhu priest of Lukluk told me that he called boy and girl twins *bunching* if they had two placentas, and *silih asih* if they had only one, regardless of the order of their birth. He added that he had never heard of a case with two placentas. And recently in Bandă, a village near Blahbatu, where triplets were born, the Prĕbĕkĕl (government headman) called triplets in which the sexes were mixed *bunching*, whereas if there were three boys or three girls they would be called *kĕmbar*. In this particular case there were two boys and a girl, which generally is considered a very bad sign, as the people say two men may not share a wife, and the family must be banished, the village purified. The custom in Bandă we cannot consider very orthodox, for although they planned to have the *mĕcharu malik sumpah*, they did not banish the family for the reason that the triplets died within a day of their birth. The death of the offending children does not, in stricter villages, absolve the parents from banishment. We may consider this application of the name *bunching* a case of ignorance. The old name is *katĭjuru*, perhaps deriving from *juru katrini*, i. e. 'the three officials', a term occurring among the names of officials in older language. There are other fanciful names applied to triplets, as *tunjung apit tĕlagă*, 'a waterlily on either side of the pond', given when there are two girls and a boy, for it is a good sign when the boy is born with two wives (Batuan). If there are two boys and a girl, they are called *bută*, demons, because they must

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Rendah has one wife, Rieh, who has borne him nine children. Three of these died in infancy. His eldest, a girl, he has just given in marriage to her paternal parallel second cousin, the eldest son of Gari, Rendah's own paternal parallel cousin (fig. 1, I). This girl, Tingglih, has "followed her husband," and now lives across the street in the house of her father-in-law Gari. Only five children remain in Rendah's house.

Rendah himself was one of eight children, also borne to his father by one wife (fig. 2, II). The children, in the order of their birth, receive title-names, as follows:

Wajan—First-born
Madé—Second-born
Njoman—Third-born
Ketoet—Fourth-born.

If there are more than four children the series begins over again, and the fifth child is Wajan, the sixth Madé, etc. Every djabă must have one of these title-names, which precedes his given name. The given name is chosen by a system of divination through fire, from a group of names suitable to a child born on a certain day of the astrological calendar. It is rarely used, except to children and to inferiors in age and in social status. To use the title-name is always more polite, and compulsory for inferiors in age and in social status. Thus Rendah, although he is the eldest son, was the fourth-born of his family. He is called Ketoet by his equals, or I Ketoet Rendah when they are speaking about him, to distinguish him from other Ketoets. After the birth of his first child he is called 'Pan Tingglih,[1] father of Ting-

[1] 'Pan is the abbreviation of bapan, from bapă, father, with the possessive -n. In certain mountain districts the old word 'nang, shortened from nanang, father, is used. Similarly bibi for mother or aunt, is sometimes found instead of the usual mémé. On the island of Noesă Penidă, belonging to Bali but with a distinctive dialect, bibi and bébé are in use for mother and aunt as well as mémé, and maman for paternal or maternal uncle, reserving nanang for the biological father. In Balinese classical literature paman is used for uncle and as a familiar form of address to older men (as a young prince speaking to his father's minister). In Malay paman may be used in the latter way, though its original meaning is maternal uncle. Iboe, mother, and jajah or adji, father, occur also in the literature. Iboe and adji are current high Balinese, and biang, mother, is found among high-caste people used as a title-name. Keramă is another old form for mother, found in the texts. Kaki, grandfather, appears in the literature more often than the current pekak. Nini and néné, old forms for grandmother, are rarely found outside the texts. Nini is still in use as the name for the rice-goddess of the harvest ritual, although apparently not universally known.

Koeranan is used for both husband and wife. The words moewani, male, and loeh, female, are commonly substituted in low Balinese for husband and wife. In high Balinese they are lanang, male, and istri, female; istri has come to have a more definite meaning of wife, although high-caste Balinese have many different words, as rabi, wife, prami swari, consort (of